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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

9 August 1949

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM NO. 211

SUBJECT: Tabulation of Communist Party Strength in Various Countries of the World

1. The following tabulation shows actual or estimated Communist Party strength in various countries of the world as to total membership, seats held in the national legislatures and names of party leaders.

2. It is pointed out that this tabulation does not consider "fellow travelers" but deals with Communist party members exclusively.

Country	National Legislature		CP Strength (membership)	CP Leader
	Total seats	Communist held		
Afghanistan	45/120	None	Very few	Not identified
Albania	82	All	1/	Hoxha
Algeria	120	1	10-15,000	Paul Caballero Larbi Bouhali Pierre Fayet
Argentina ^{2/}	188	0	40,000 (48)	Victorio Codovilla ^{3/}
Australia	111	No avowed Communists	12,000 to 15,000	Robert Dixon

1/ Official figures on membership of Albanian Communist Party; 29,000 members and 16,000 candidates, total 45,000. These figures are considered padded.

2/ Estimates on Latin American countries are from varying sources and are of varying reliability, and in some cases represent guesses as to strength of illegal clandestine parties.

3/ Rodolfo Ghioldi is Sec. Gen., but Codovilla is considered the stronger of the two.

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Country	National Legislature Total seats	CP Strength (membership)	CP Leader
	Communist held		
Austria	165 1/	4 1/	Johann Koplenig Franz Honner Friedl Fuernberg
Belgium	337 2/	18 2/	Julien Lahaut Edgar Lalmand Jean Terfve
Brazil	367	2	Luiz Carlos Prestes
Bulgaria	366	3/	4/
Burma	330 5/	7 5/	13,000 to 20,000 Thakin Than Tun Thakin Soe 6/
Canada	Senate 102 House of Commons 262	None None	25,000 7/ Tim Buck
Ceylon	30/100	Three "Communist" parties, of which one is the regular CP, hold 5 seats in the Senate and 18 in the House.	S. A. Wickramasinghe (CP) N. M. Perera Colvin de Silva

1/ Lower House only.
 2/ Both branches of legislature.
 3/ Fatherland Front, made up of CP, and Agrarians hold all seats. Relative strength unknown, but CP dominates FF.
 4/ To be chosen, following death of Dimitrov. Two CP secretaries, Vulko Chervenkov and Georgi Chankov seem most powerful.
 5/ Chamber of Nationalities, 125; Chamber of Deputies, 255. Only 139 members of the latter are attending the present session, the remainder, including the (estimated) 7 Communists, being either dead, underground, resigned, or otherwise unwilling or unable to get to Rangoon. Approximately the same situation is probably true of the Chamber of Nationalities.
 No Communists are reported to be members of the Chamber of Nationalities.
 6/ Leaders, respectively, of the Burmese Communist Party (10,000 to 15,000 members) and the Communist Party (Burma) (3,000 to 5,000 members). Membership figures are very rough estimates.
 7/ Figures given represent estimated CP strength, not voting strength nor "hard core."

<u>Country</u>	<u>National Legislature</u>	<u>CP Strength</u>	<u>CP Leader</u>
	<u>Total seats</u>	<u>Communist held</u>	<u>(membership)</u>
Chile	192	7	40-60,000 (45) Calo <u>Gonzalez</u> <u>Diaz</u> 1/
China	2/	2/	3,000,000 MAC Tse-Tung
Colombia	195	0	2,500 (49) Gilberto <u>Vieira</u> <u>White</u>
Costa Rica	No legislature	- 3/	5-7,000 (48) Manuel <u>Mora</u> <u>Valverde</u> 4/
Cuba	190	9	155,000 (49) Elas Roca 5/
Cyprus	No legislature	Communist mayors and councils control 3 of the island's 6 cities.	4,500 members 15,000 fellow travelers. E. Papaioannou
Czechoslovakia	300	237	2,311,000 Rudolf Slansky
Denmark	Upper House 76 Lower House 150	1 9	30,000 6/ Chair., Larsen Sec., Svend Nielsen
Dominican Republic	59	0	200 (49) Unknown
Ecuador	110	2	4-5,000 (48) Pedro Saad 7/

1/ Leader of dominant workers' faction of the Chilean CP. Other leaders are Humberto Abarca, Luis Reinoso.

2/ The Chinese Communists probably will form and proclaim a "National Government of China," asserting authority over the China mainland and the island of Formosa, before the end of 1949; this government probably will not be in effective control of all of China until 1952. In the National Legislature of that government, the Chinese Communist Party may choose to restrict its members to one-third of the seats; all members of that body, however, will be Communist-approved and subject to removal by the CCP.

3/ Legislature not functioning under present government.

4/ In exile.

5/ Juan Marinello is President; Elas Roca is Sec. Gen.

6/ Figures given represent estimated CP strength, not voting strength nor "hard core."

7/ Enrique Gil Gilbert is Sec. Gen. for coastal region.

Country	National Legislature		CP Strength (membership)	CP Leader
	Total seats	Communist held		
Egypt	411 (to be increased to 474 in the fall elections)	None CP illegal	1,200 Party numbers estimated.	Henri Curiel
El Salvador	No legislature 1/	1/	Negligible	Unknown
Finland	200	38	35-50,000	Ville Pessi 2/
France	940 3/	201 2/	500,000+	Thorez, Duclos, Marti, Casanova
Germany	—	—	350,000	Max Reimann Kurt Mueller Walter Fisch
Great Britain	640 - Commons	2	30 or 40,000 4/	H. Pollitt
Greece	354	None CP illegal	150,000 members 250,000 fell- ow-travelers	Nikolaos Zachariades
Guatemala	68	No admitted Communists	—	—
Haiti	58	0	500-1,000 (49)	
Hungary	402	167	1,000,000	Matyas Rakasi
Iceland	52	10	1,000 4/	B. Bjarnasson E. Olgeirsson
India	Constituent Assembly pending approval of Constitution.	None In parts of India CP has carried municipal and state elections; however, CP is outlawed in certain states.	80,000 to 100,000 with several million sympathizers.	B.T. Ramadoss Shripat Amrit Dange

1/ Legislature not functioning under present government.
 2/ Actual behind-scenes leader. Hertta Kuusinen is nominal public leader.
 3/ Both branches of legislature.
 4/ Figures given represent estimated CP strength, not voting strength nor "hard core."

Country	Total seats	National Legislature Communist held	CP Strength (membership)	CP Leader
Indochina	300 to 375 ^{1/}	10 to 15 Marxists (?)	Hard case About 3,000 ^{2/}	HO Chi Minh ^{3/}
Indonesia	413 ^{4/}	35 ^{4/}	30,000 or more	Tan Malakka ^{5/}
Iran	136	None CP illegal	Tudeh Party 25,000	Dr. Reza Rad- manesh (underground)
Iraq	138	None CP illegal	Estimated 10,000 as of Oct. 1943. (Probably includes fellow-travelers.)	Malik Sayf has now turned Recent repressive governmental action evidence. has probably re- duced this figure.
Ireland	Senate 60 Dail 147	None	Negligible	Sean Nolan

^{1/} Ho Chi Minh Government. The Bac Dai Government has as yet no national legislative, but when one is constituted it will have no Communist members.

^{2/} The Indochinese Communist Party as such was dissolved in name in Nov. 1945, but has probably been kept alive in various disguised forms. The Trotskyite Movement has been repressed by the Viet Minh, but it probably has some 2,000 secret members.

^{3/} Uncertain. Ho Chi Minh may be only head of the Government. The head of the ICP may be Nguyen - luong - Bung, Chief of the Central Committee of the Viet Minh Front (Tong Bo).

^{4/} Conditions have been so upset recently and parliamentary meetings have been suspended for so long (since mid-December) that there is little information on the composition of the current legislative body. It is known that a number of Communists have been jailed; and in view of the anti-Communist nature of the government, Communist members of the KNIP may be replaced. Partai Rakjat (People's Party) representatives have been active in recent Working Committee debates. For all practical purposes, these members should be regarded as Communists. Certain Labor Party members, as well as some of the minor party members, will support Communism.

^{5/} He has been reported dead. His successor might be SUKARNI or SETIADJID.

Country	National Legislature		CP Strength (membership)	CP Leader
	Total seats	Communist held		
Israel	120	4 - (2 Arab (2 Jewish)	Estimated 2300 Jewish members of Israeli Com- munist Party.	Samuel Nokuris Esther Wilenska Meir Wilner Emil Touma
			Estimated 1500 Arab members of Arab League of National Liberation, the Arab Branch of the Israeli CP. In the Jan. 1949 Israeli elections, however, the CP polled 15,000 votes.	
Italy	918 1/	198 1/	1,800,000	Palmiro Togliatti Umberto Terracini
Japan	710	41 2/	150,000 3/	Kyuichi TOKUDA 4/
Jordan	30	None CP illegal	Very small	None

1/ Both branches of legislature.
 2/ Communists hold 35 out of 460 seats in the Diet's lower house and 6 out of 250 seats in the House of Councilors.
 3/ Most recent claimed membership for Japanese Communists by a responsible Communist Leader (NOZAKA) is 150,000. The estimate is satisfactory but perhaps a little low for the actual card-carrying membership and obviously does not include secret members, sympathizers or Young Communist League members. Communists received 2,984,583 votes in the January elections.
 4/ Also: Sanzo NOZAKA, Yoshio SHIGA, Ritsu ITO, Kenji MIYAMOTO.

Country	National Legislature		CP Strength (membership)	CP Leader
	Total seats	Communists held		
Korea (north)	572	1/	2/	KIM Il Sung 3/
Korea (south)	200	None 4/	Less than 200,000 5/	PAK Hunyong 6/
Lebanon	55 - (30 Christians (25 Moslems	None CP illegal	Est. 4,000 (probably includes fel- low-travelers.)	Nicola Shawi (Bakdash, former leader, with ME quarters in Haifa.)
Luxembourg	51	5	5,000	Urbany

1/ Impossible to determine number of members who are actually Communist Party members. Officially, 36 political and social organizations are represented, including the North and South Korea Labor Party, generally believed to be the Korean Communist Party. However, all successful candidates were in some manner sponsored and approved by local Communist leaders and the Assembly merely acts under guidance of the Presidium which is composed of CP members.

2/ Unknown — actual party strength believed restricted to small portion of 9,000,000 population. Control exercised by typical monolithic organization.

3/ Prime Minister. Also:

PAK Hunyong - Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs

KIM Doobong - President - Presidium of Supreme Peoples Assembly

Hu Hun - Chairman, Supreme Peoples Assembly

KIM Wonbong - Minister of State Control

CHET Yonggun - Minister of Defense until recently

HONG Iyonghui - Vice Prime Minister

KIM Chaek - Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Industry.

4/ No known members of the Communist Party ran for election to the National Assembly in the 10 May 1948 elections. However, eleven Assemblymen were recently arrested on charges of affiliation with South Korea Labor Party (Communist Party).

5/ There is no real basis for estimating figure. 600,000 membership claim of SKLP in 1947 was probably exaggerated and membership has since decreased. General Communist policy not to greatly expand card-bearing membership, but to exert influence through control of numerous front organizations.

6/ Most prominent Communists in Southern Korea have fled to north. Hu Hun was listed as Chairman of Democratic Peoples Front in 1947 but it is believed that Pak Hunyong still exercises control through Communist channels to southern Korea.

Country	National Legislature		CP Strength (membership)	CP Leader
	Total seats	Communist held		
Malaya	75 1/	None 1/	5,000 to 10,000	Unknown
Mexico	205	0	10,000 (49)	Dionisio Encina
Netherlands	150 2/	12 2/	50,000	Paul de Groot Gerben Wagenaar
New Zealand	116	None	800, to 1,000	Alexander Gilmour Gulbraith
Nicaragua	48	0	7,000 (49)	Juan Lorio
N. Ireland	Senate 26 Commons 52	None	200 3/	Sean Murray Sec. W. McCullough
Norway	150	11	15,000 3/	Emil Lovlien
Pakistan	Constituent Assembly pend- ing approval of Constitution	None	6,000 to 12,000 in E. Pakistan. 1,000 in West Pakistan.	S. T. Gianch- andani
Panama	42	0	700 (48)	Cristobal L. Segundo
Paraguay	40	0	2,000 (48)	Augusto Canete 4/
Peru	No legislature 5/	4 5/	10,000 (48)	Jorge del Prado
Philippines	122 6/	None 6/	About 3,000	Unknown 7/
Poland	444	384 won by Communist bloc (approx.) in Jan. '47 elections.	2,500,000	Jakub Berman

1/ Not including the Colony of Singapore, the Legislative Council of which has 22 seats, none occupied by a Communist.

All seats in the legislative body of the Malayan Federation, and all but 6 in that of Singapore, are filled by appointment.

2/ Both branches of legislature.

3/ Figures given represent estimated CP strength, not voting strength nor "hard core."

4/ Canete is Sec. Gen. and is in exile; Oscar Creydt is Dir. Gen., also in exile.

5/ Legislature not functioning under present government.

6/ 98 seats in the House; 24 in the Senate. The one Communist member of the House was unseated in January 1949.

7/ Chief party spokesman is Mariano Falgos, Secretary-General of the Communist Party in the Philippines.

Country	National Legislature		CP Strength (membership)	CP Leader
	Total seats	Communist held		
Portugal	—	—	4,000	Alvaro Cunhal Julio De Melo Fogaca Dr. V. H. Vales Grilo
Romania	414	400	170,000 (hard-core goal)	Gheorghiu-Dej
Saudi Arabia	No legislature	None CP illegal	No Communist Party in Saudi Arabia	None
Spain	—	—	3,500	Dolores Ibarruri Vicente Uribe Enrique Lister
Sweden	Upper House 150 Lower House 230	3 8	35,000 1/	Linderot - Ch. Lager - Sec.
Switzerland	191 2/	7 2/	10-15,000	Edgar Woog Leon Nicole Jean Vincent
Syria	139 (to be re- duced to 60 under anticipated new Constitution.)	None CP illegal	Estimated membership of Feb. 1949 10,000 (prob- ably includes fellow-trave- lers.)	Nassouh Chafferi (Baldash, former leader, with ME CP Headquarters in Haifa.)
Thailand	Abt 220	None	3,000-4,000 2/	Nai Presert
Tunisia	—	—	3,000-5,000	Mohamed Ennafi Maurice Misard
Turkey	465	None	2,000 est.	Not identified
Union of S. Africa	Senate 48 Assembly 149	None 2	2,000 1/	I. O. Horvitch

1/ Figures given represent estimated CP strength, not voting strength nor "hard core."

2/ Lower House only.

3/ In addition there are from 10,000 to 20,000 Communist supporters and sympathizers. The influence of the Communists in Thailand is far out of proportion to their small number.

<u>Country</u>	<u>National Legislature</u>	<u>CP Strength</u>	<u>CP Leader</u>
	<u>Total seats</u>	<u>Communist held</u>	<u>(membership)</u>
Uruguay	129	6	5,000 - 15,000 (49) Eugenio Gomez
Venezuela	No legislature 1/	4 1/	17,000 (47) Juan Fuenmayor
Yugoslavia	575	575	468,175 Tito
USSR	1,339	1,065	6,000,000 Stalin

1/ Legislature not functioning under present government.